

Message Text

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ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 USIE-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05

PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 EB-07 COME-00 IO-10 ACDA-05

OMB-01 TRSE-00 AID-05 SCCT-01 EA-06 /092 W

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O R 181354Z APR 75

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1515

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LUSAKA 0708

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, MO, RH, SF, ZA

SUBJECT: NEXT STEPS IN RHODESIA: ANC

NADERS VISIT LUSAKA

SUMMARY. DURING TWO-DAY STOPOVER IN LUSAKA FOLLOWING DAR
OAU MEETING, ANC LEADERS MET WITH PRES KAUNDA AND FORMALLY
OPENED NEW ANC OFFICE HERE. BISHOP MUZOREWA PUBLICLY
ACKNOWLEDGED THAT SINCE DECEMBER INTERNAL FEUDS HAD TAKEN
MANY LIVES OF ZIMBABWE FREEDOM FIGHTERS. IN TALKS WITH US
AND WITH UK HIGH COMMISSIONER, MUZOREWA CONFIRMED THAT OTHER
ANC LEADERS HAVE INSISTED THERE BE NO FURTHER TALKS WITH
SMITH UNTIL HANGINGS STOP AND 18 DETAINEES PICKED UP LAST
WEEK ARE FREED; WHETHER THE BISHOP HIMSELF CONCURS IN THIS
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CONDITION NOT CLEAR. MACHEL HAS AGREED TO APPLY SANCTIONS

TO RHODESIA IF HE GETS OUTSIDE AID; HE ALREADY GIVING SANCTUARY TO ZIMBABWEAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS WHILE RECRUITMENT TO ENABLE ANC RESUMPTION AND INTENSIFICATION OF ARMED STRUGGLE IS UNDERWAY. MUZOREWA SAID SITHOLE WILL NOT RETURN TO RHODESIA AT PRESENT AND ROBERT MUGABE BEING DETAINED IN MOZAMBIQUE BECAUSE HE WAS TRYING REVITALIZE ZANU AS SEPARATE ENTITY. APPEARS MUZOREWA RETURNED FROM DAR WITH RENEWED CONFIDENCE IN COURSE HE PURSUING AND WITH HIS HAND STRENGTHENED VIS-A-VIS ANC MILITANT DISSIDENTS. END SUMMARY.

1. AFRICAN NATIONAL COUNCIL LEADERS BISHOP MUZOREWA, JOSHUA NKOMO, ELLIOT GABELLAH, JAMES CHICKEREMA, AND GEORGE NYANDORO RETURNED LUSAKA APRIL 14 FROM DAR OAU CONFERENCE. NEXT DAY MUZOREWA AND FONMIN VERNON MWAANGA PRESIDED AT FORMAL OPENING OF NEWLY-ESTABLISHED ANC OFFICE IN LUSAKA'S CLOSELY-GUARDED LIBERATION CENTER. ANC OFFICE WILL REPLACE FORMER SEPARATE ZANU AND ZAPU OFFICES CLOSED BY ZAMBIAN GOVT EARLY THIS MONTH. BOTH SPEAKERS EMPHASIZED NEED FOR UNITY AMONG ALL ZIMBABWEANS, WITH MWAANGA WARNING THAT ZAMBIA WOULD NOT HESITATE TO EXPEL THOSE WHO REJECTED UNITY WITHIN ANC. MUZOREWA, NKOMO AND GABELLAH FLEW TO SALISBURY ON APRIL 16.

2. INTERNAL FEUDS. IN DAILY MAIL INTERVIEW PUBLISHED APRIL 16, MUZOREWA ACKNOWLEDGED THAT "MANY" FREEDOM FIGHTERS HAVE BEEN KILLED IN INTERNAL PARTY FEUDING SINCE LAST DECEMBER. MUZOREWA ALSO QUOTED AS SAYING SOME MEMBERS OF ANC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE WERE GUILTY OF TAKING ADVANTAGE OF CHITEPO DEATH AND SITHOLE DETENTION TO PERPETRATE SMEAR CAMPAIGN AIMED AT DISUNITING ZIMBABWEANS. BISHOP WAS HEARTENED BY SUPPORT SHOWN AT OAU CONFERENCE FOR ZIMBABWEAN UNITY AND PRAISED POLICY WHICH ZAMBIA AND TANZANIA HAVE BEEN FOLLOWING IN THEIR CONTACTS WITH SOUTH AFRICA.

3. SITHOLE. RE SITHOLE DECISION NOT TO RETURN TO SALISBURY AT THIS TIME, MUZOREWA TOLD PRESS ONLY THAT SITHOLE IS ATTENDING TO SOME ANC BUSINESS IN DAR AND WILL FOLLOW "IN DUE COURSE". APRIL 18 TIMES OF ZAMBIA SAYS SITHOLE TO BE NAMED, ALONG WIT CHICKEREMA AND EX-ZAPU OFFICIAL JASON MOYO, TO DIRECT ANC EXTERNAL OPERATIONS. MUZOREWA TOLD US APRIL 15 THERE NO AGREEMENT WITH SMITH THAT SITHOLE COULD RETURN TO CONFIDENTIAL

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SALISBURY WITHOUT FEAR OF BEING REDETAINED. CHICKEREMA CLAIMED TO US APRIL 17 THAT RHODESIAN AUTHORITIES SECRETLY RELIEVED THAT SITHOLE NOT COMING BACK SINCE THEY WOULD THEN HAVE HAD TO REDETAIN HIM AND FACE AGAIN PRESSURES FROM SOUTH AFRICA, AFRICAN STATES, AND OTHERS FOR HIS RELEASE. MWAANGA TOLD UK HICOM MILES THAT HE IS CONVINCED SITHOLE NOW GENUINE CONVERT TO ESTABLISHING UNITY UNDER ANC. SITHOLE HAS UNDERTAKEN TO TELL HIS PEOPLE ZANU NO LONGER EXISTS AND ALL SHOULD JOIN FORCES

LOYALLY UNDER ANC BANNER. WE UNDERSTAND SITHOLE COMING TO LUSAKA NEXT WEEK AND HE EXPECTED TO DIVIDE HIS TIME BETWEEN DAR AND HERE. ACCORDING CHICKEREMA, SITHOLE HAS ALREADY SUGGESTED PERSONS WHO COULD SUBSTITUTE FOR HIM IN ANC COUNCILS INSIDE RHODESIA.

4. MUGABE. MUZOREWA TOLD PRESS HE WAS "SORRY" TO HEAR MOZAMBIQUE AUTHORITIES DETAINING EX-ZANU LEADER ROBERT MUGABE WHO HAD BEEN EXPECTED PARTICIPATE WITH ANC DELEGATION AT DAR OAU CONFERENCE. MUZOREWA TOLD MILES THAT MUGABE BEING DETAINED BECAUSE HIS REAL PURPOSE IN TRYING TO REACH DAR WAS TO REVITALIZE ZANU AS ENTITY SEPARATE FROM ANC AND MACHEL IS DETERMINED TO ASSURE UNITY OF ZIMBABWE NATIONALISTS UNDER ANC. (WE HAVE SAME STORY FROM CHIKEREMA WHO ADDED THAT MUGABE NOW VIRTUALLY PERSONA NON GRATA IN ZAMBIA AND TANZANIA AND DISOWNED EVEN BY SITHOLE. ZAMBIANS PARTICULARLY INSENCED BY MUGABE ALLEGATIONS THAT GRZ SPECIAL BRANCH RESPONSIBLE FOR CHITEPO MURDER.) MACHEL APPARENTLY PLANS SEND MUGABE, TOGETHER WITH FUGITIVE ZANU MILITARY LEADERS TONGOGARA AND CHIGOWE WHO ALSO PICKED UP IN MOZAMBIQUE, TO ZAMBIA FOR DETENTION AND INTERROGATION IN CONNECTION WITH CHITEPO ASSASSINATION.

5. NEXT STEPS WITH SMITH. BEFORE LEAVING LUSAKA, MUZOREWA ISSUED STATEMENT CALLING ON SMITH TO CEASE EXECUTIONS OF CONVICTED FREEDOM FIGHTERS AND TO RELEASE DETAINEES IN FULFILLMENT OF DECEMBER LUSAKA AGREEMENT SO AS TO ENABLE ANC/SMITH TALKS TO RESUME. HE SAID ANC WOULD DO ALL IT COULD TO FOLLOW PEACEFUL MEANS OF ACHIEVING INDEPENDENCE BUT "SITUATION CANNOT BE LEFT IN SUSPENSE. ZIMBABWEAN PEOPLE MUST KNOW IF THERE IS ANY POINT IN CONTINUING TO TALK." MUZOREWA WARNED THAT IF DEADLOCK CONTINUES, "THOSE OUTSIDE RHODESIA" WOULD INTENSIFY ARMED STRUGGLE

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ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 USIE-00

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O R 181354Z APR 75
FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1516
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

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CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

AND CALLED ATTENTION TO OAU CONFERENCE SUPPORT FOR RENEWED EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE PEACFUL SOLUTION TO RHODESIAN PROBLEM. MILES FOUND MUZOREWA OF TWO MINDS ABOUT WHETHER TO SEEK REOPEN TALKS WITH SMITH IMMEDIATELY OR AWAIT RELEASE OF 18 RECENT DETAINEES DEMANDED BY ANC. TO US, MUZOREWA INDICATED OTHER ANC LEADERS NO LONGER WISH TO CONTINUE TALKS FOR SAKE OF TALKING ALONE, PRESUMABLY MEANING THAT SMITH MUST FIRST GIVE COMMITMENT TO PRINCIPLE OF MAJORITY RULE. ANC LEADERS HAVE APPARENTLY NOT ATTEMPTED SET ANY TIME LIMIT FOR PURSUIT OF PEACFUL SETTLEMENT. CHICKEREMA TOLD US THAT EFFORTS TO NEGOTIATE SOLUTION WILL CONTINUE AT LEAST UNTIL POINT REACHED WHERE ANC MILITARY CAPABILITY HAS BEEN DEVELOPED TO MAKE INTENSIFICATION OF ARMED STRUGGLE MEANINGFUL ALTERNATIVE; IN THIS REGARD, "THERE IS MUCH WE HAVE TO DO."
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6. SOUTH AFRICAN WITHDRAWAL. CHICKEREMA INSISTED VORSTER HAS PROMISED TO HAVE ALL SUTH AFRICAN FORCES AND THEIR EQUIPMENT OUT OF RHODESIA BY MAY 30. HE DID NOT BELIEVE "MINOR" VILATIONS OF CEASEFIRE, LIKE MURDERS OF THREE WHITE RHODESIANS LAST WEEK, WOULD LEAD VORSTER REVERSE DECISION TO WITHDRAW.

7. MOZAMBIQUE SANCTIONS AGAINST RHODESIA. MUZOREWA TOLD US HIS TALKS IN DAR WITH MACHEL MAKE IT CLEAR MOZAMBIQUE CAN AND WILL APPLY SANCTIONS IF IT CAN GET ADEQUATE ASSISTANCE. THE BISHOP SAID MACHEL CORRECTLY EXPECTS CHINA AND THE USSR WILL OBLIGE WITH SUCH ASSISTANCE. MACHEL ALSO PREPARED PROVIDE SANCTURARY TO ZIMBABWEAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS AND IS, IN FACT, ALREADY DOING SO. MUZOREWA AND MWAANGA CONFIRMED SAME POINT TO MILES, MWAANGA ADDING THAT RECUITMENT FOR RESUMPTION AND INSTENSIFICATION OF WAR ALREADY UNDERWAY.

8. COMMENT: MUZOREWA APPEARS TO HAVE COME AWAY FROM DAR

WITH RENEWED CONFIDENCE IN CORRECTNESS OF COURSE WHICH HE, KAUNDA, NYERERE AND KHAMA ARE PURSUING. MILITANTS WITHIN ANC RANKS HAVE BEEN TEMPORARILY NEUTRALIZED, BOTH BY THEIR DETENTION IN ZAMBIA AND MOZAMBIQUE AND BY CLEAR SUPPORT WHICH OAU FOREIGN MINISTERS HAVE GIVEN TO CONTINUED EFFORTS ATTEMPT REACH SETTLEMENT THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS. HOWEVER, BISHOP HAS ACQUIESCED (POSSIBLY TO HIS OWN PERSONAL REGRET) IN DECISION TO READY ANC FOR POSSIBLE RESUMPTION OF ARMED STRUGGLE IF SMITH REMAINS INTRANSIGENT. HOW LONG SMITH WILL HAVE FOR DELAY AND MANEUVER TO EVADE NEGOTIATING ISSUE OF MAJORITY RULE IS HARD TO PREDICT. IT WILL DEPEND ON DEGREE OF EXTERNAL SUPPORT MOZAMBIQUE CAN MUSTER FOR IMPOSITION OF TRADE SANCTIONS ON RHODESIA, ON LENGTH OF TIME IT TAKES FOR ANC TO DEVELOP UNIFIED MILITARY FORCE, AND ON CONTINUED SOUTH AFRICAN DETERMINATION TO FORCE SMITH'S HAND. SMITH MAY BE ABLE TO DELAY FOR AWHILE YET BUT IT DOES APPEAR THAT PRESSURES TO MOVE TOWARD SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS WITH ANC ARE BOUND TO BECOME INCREASINGLY IRRESISTIBLE.

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